

AMENDMENT TO H.R. 9286

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. REUSS) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow I shall offer an amendment to H.R. 9286,

designed to promote respect for law and order on the part of the Central Intelligence Agency:

Page 8, after line 15, insert the following and renumber subsequent sections accordingly:

SEC. 603. None of the funds authorized for appropriation pursuant to this Act shall be obligated or expended by the Central Intelligence Agency for purposes other than the collection, evaluation, correlation, and dissemination of information pertinent to the external security of the United States.

The Central Intelligence Agency has for years been a scofflaw. It is time to blow the whistle.

The National Security Act of 1947 set up a Central Intelligence Agency. Its statutory function is intelligence, but not operations, as it relates to the external security of the United States. Section 102 (d) (3) sets forth the duty of the CIA—to correlate and evaluate intelligence relating to the national security, and provide for the appropriate dissemination of such intelligence within the Government using where appropriate existing agencies and facilities: *Provided*, That the Agency shall have no police, subpoena, law-enforcement powers, or internal-security functions.

For years the CIA has been flagrantly violating the law. Instead of sticking to the collection, evaluation, correlation, and dissemination of intelligence, it has engaged in all sorts of paramilitary operations. Instead of following the law that denies it "internal-security functions," it has engaged in just such functions.

Violating the prohibition against paramilitary operations goes back at least a generation.

In 1953, the CIA engineered the replacement of Iranian Premier Mohammed Mossadegh.

In 1954, it organized, trained, and financed a revolution in Guatemala.

In 1956, according to "The Invisible Government" by David Wise, it attempted to influence the presidential election in Costa Rica against President Jose Figueres. The attempt, which involved linking Figueres to the Communist Party, failed.

In 1961, it staged the Bay of Pigs disaster.

In 1964, according to a Washington Post report by Laurence Stern of April 6, 1973, it contributed \$20 million to help Eduardo Frei's Christian Democratic Party defeat the Socialist Party of Salvador Allende.

In Indochina, massive CIA guerrilla and counter guerrilla activities go back to the Kennedy administration. Here are a few highlights.

According to an April 1973 staff report of the Senate Subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad, the Laotian irregular special forces—the only effective pro-U.S. forces in the country—are "organized, trained, equipped, and controlled by the CIA."

In South Vietnam, the CIA worked with the Saigon government to establish and operate the Phoenix terror program. According to a South Vietnamese Embassy document, "Vietnam: Toward Peace and Prosperity 1967-71," Phoenix assassinated more than 26,000 government opponents during this period.

In Cambodia in 1970, according to a 1971 Manchester Guardian report by T. D. Allman, several CIA agents told guerrilla leader Son Ngoc Thanh, later Lon Nol's prime minister, they would do "everything possible" to help if he successfully mounted a coup against Sihanouk.

The collection of foreign intelligence, no matter how unlovely a business it is, is the proper task of the CIA. The conduct of paramilitary operations, lovely or unlovely, is not.

Examples of the violation of the internal security ban include the Agency's supplying tools to E. Howard Hunt for his burglary of the West Coast psychiatrist's office and disguises to enable him to interview Dita Beard in Denver, and the trafficking by CIA Deputy Director Lieutenant General Walters in the Watergate matter last year.

Even Acting CIA Director William Colby testifying at his Senate confirmation hearings on July 2, 1973, told Senator SYMINGTON:

"I think it might be appropriate to limit the Agency's function to foreign intelligence and that in every case in the Act in which the word 'intelligence' appears . . . that you have the word 'foreign' inserted.

Mr. Colby was merely echoing the clear legislative history of CIA legislation. During the debate on the Central Intelligence Agency Act, May 27, 1949 (Cong. Rec. pp. 6947-6948), occurs the following by the bill's manager, the late Senator TYDINGS:

Mr. TYDINGS. The bill relates entirely to matters external to the United States; it has nothing to do with internal America. It relates to the gathering of facts and information beyond the borders of the United States. It has no application to the domestic scene in any manner, shape, or form.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. This intelligence agency does no work at all within the continental United States, except to assimilate information it receives elsewhere. Is that not correct?

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator is completely correct. There is not a single agent of this intelligence agency working within the United States in any form of espionage, directly or indirectly. It is purely and completely and wholly and simply in the foreign field. It has no connection with the FBI, it is not under the FBI, it does not do the same work as the FBI. Its sole effort is outside the United States.

What do you do when the law is consistently being violated? One thing you can do, and that is what my amendment seeks to do, is to say it again, in unmistakable terms. If this is done, would-be lawbreakers at the CIA will be subject to impeachment if they go ahead with their violations.

My amendment, it is true, simply provides that the CIA, not other governmental agencies, must stay out of internal security functions, and out of paramilitary foreign operations.

But this is precisely what is needed.

Other agencies of Government, including notably the Federal Bureau of Investigation, are responsible for internal security. If the CIA gets wind of a spy operating within our territorial boundaries, let it forthwith notify the FBI or other appropriate agency to take over.

Equally, requiring the CIA to obey the law and not to engage in paramilitary operations, does not mean that the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, or even the State Department may not, at some times and places, engage in such operations.

But keeping the CIA out of the paramilitary operations business has two great advantages, which no doubt occurred to the Congress in 1947 when it limited the CIA's functions.

First, by splitting up paramilitary operations among several agencies rather than centralizing them all in the CIA we erect some insurance against foolhardy action. Second, these agencies are responsible to a Cabinet chain of command, and to appropriate congressional committees, whereas the Director of the CIA is outside the hierarchy, and is responsible to the President and the Congress in only the vaguest and least visible sense.

If my amendment accomplishes nothing else, it will serve to remind us that ours is a government of laws, not of men.

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM:		EXTENSION		NO.	
Legislative Counsel		6121		DATE	
				31 July 1973	
TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)	
	RECEIVED	FORWARDED			
1.				<p>Attached is a statement from yesterday's <u>Congressional Record</u> by Representative Henry Reuss (D., Wis.) on an amendment to the Military Authorization Bill to prohibit CIA obligation or expenditure of funds authorized under that bill for other than collection, evaluation, correlation and dissemination of information. The Agency's budget is not <u>authorized</u> by the bill, but the language could be construed as prohibiting transfer of authorized funds for CIA expenditure for payment of local forces or for NRO programs.</p> <p>When Reuss took the floor to-day to offer his amendment, Nedzi rose and committed himself to holding hearings on legislation to amend the 1947 Act and on that basis Reuss withdrew his amendment.</p> <div style="background-color: black; width: 200px; height: 80px; margin: 10px 0;"></div> <p style="text-align: right;">STATINTL !</p> <p>Associate Legislative Counsel</p> <p>Att.</p> <p>cc: Mr. Colby, DDS&T, DDO, OPFB, IC, OGC</p>	
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